

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 AEC-11 CIAE-00 EUR-25 H-03 INR-11 IO-14 L-03

NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

ISO-00 DRC-01 /153 W

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R 291455Z JUL 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6940

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4122

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: IS PAPER ON FLANK SECURITY

1. THE FOLLOWING IS IS PAPER WHICH WILL SERVE AS BASIS OF SPC DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT. THE "EITHER" PARAGRAPH IS THE DUTCH PROPOSAL; THE FIRST "OR" PARAGRAPH IS THE GREEK PROPOSAL; THE SECOND "OR" PARAGRAPH IS THE BELGIAN PROPOSAL, WITH "DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY" IN BRACKETS AT U.S. REQUEST. THE BRACKETS IN THE TITLE, IN THE INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH TO SECTION II, AND THROUGHOUT SECTION III ENCLOSE DUTCH LANGUAGE DESIGNED TO EXTEND THE ISSUE TO NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND THE RISK TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS FROM THE SOVIET WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICTS.

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2. ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON COMMENT ON IS DOCUMENT, APART FROM THE DUTCH, GREEK AND BELGIAN PROPOSALS, ON WHICH WASHINGTON HAS ALREADY COMMENTED.

3. BEGIN TEXT

ISD/80

MBFR: (NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND)(1) FLANK SECURITY

I. INTRODUCTION

PARAGRAPH 30 OF C-M(73)83(FINAL) REFLECTS THE PREOCCUPATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD USE THE TERRITORIES ADJACENT TO THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS OF THOSE ADJACENT TO NATO'S FLANK COUNTRIES FOR A BUILD-UP OF ITS FORCES IN THE POST-MBFR PERIOD. ALTHOUGH THE MBFR WORKING GROUP HAS CONCLUDED THAT RECIPROCAL APPLICATION OF THE CONSTRAINTS ENVISAGED IN PARAGRAPH 30, WITH ONE EXCEPTION, WOULD BE INTOLERABLE FOR NATO'S DEFENCE POSTURE AND FLEXIBILITY(2), THE ALLIANCE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE BASIC CONCERNS REFLECTED IN PARAGRAPH 30 ARE LEGITIMATE AND MUST BE ADEQUATELY MET.

II. AGREEMENT PROVISION

2. THE ALLIANCE FAVOURS THE INCLUSION IN THE FIRST PHASE MBFR AGREEMENT OF A (NON-CIRCUMVENTION) PROVISION DESIGNED TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF (BOTH THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND THOSE) PARTICIPANTS HAVING A SPECIAL STATUS. THE COUNCIL INTENDS, AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME, TO APPROVE THE TREATY-LANGUAGE TEXT OF SUCH A PROVISION FOR PRESENTATION TO THE EAST. IT IS ENVISAGED THAT THE TEXT WOULD BE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION, WHICH IS PROVIDED FOR THE AD HOC GROUP'S INTERIM USE AS SET OUT IN SECTION III BELOW:

NOTE

(1) SOME DELEGATIONS FAVOUR ADDRESSING NON-CIRCUMVENTION IN A BROADER CONTEXT AND IN A SEPARATE DOCUMENT.

(2) REFERENCE IS MADE TO AC/276-D(74)2.

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EITHER

(IN IMPLEMENTING THE WITHDRAWALS SPECIFIED IN THE AGREEMENT, THE USA AND THE USSR UNDERTAKE NOT TO REDEPLOY THEIR FORCES IN A MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE WILL REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION WHICH COULD BE DETERMENTAL TO THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF CONTRIBUTING TO A MORE STABLE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE.)(1)

OR

(IN IMPLEMENTING THIS AGREEMENT, THE UNITED STATES AND THE USSR UNDERTAKE, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UN-DIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS, NOT TO REDEPLOY THEIR FORCES WITHDRAWN FROM THE REDUCTION AREAS INTO THE AREAS ADJACENT(2) TO THE TERRITORIES OF PARTICIPANTS HAVING A SPECIAL STATUS, AND NOT TO DEPLOY ANY ADDITIONAL FORCES TO THESE AREAS EXCEPT FOR NORMAL EXERCISES AND ROTATIONS(3) OF EXISTING FORCES.)

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 4122

(1) THE DELEGATION WHICH PROPOSED THIS FORMULATION BELIEVES THAT THE FINAL AGREEMENT PROVISION WOULD PRESUMABLY BE OF SUCH A GENERAL NATURE THAT IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO PROVIDE FOR A CONSULTATION PROCEDURE. THEREFORE, THE DELEGATION PROPOSES THAT THE AGREEMENT PROVISION BE COMPLEMENTED BY A CLAUSE WHICH COULD READ AS FOLLOWS:

IF AT ANY TIME PROBLEMS SHOULD ARRISE CONCERNING COMPLIANCE WITH THIS PROVISION OR RELATED QUESTIONS, THE PARTIES SHALL ENTER INTO URGENT CONSULTATIONS SO AS TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THEM AND TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO AVERT ANY POSSIBLE RISK FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE.

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THE DELEGATION POINTS OUT THAT A "RELATED QUESTION" COULD BE THE REDEPLOYMENT OF OTHER THAN WITHDRAWN FORCES INTO AREAS OF CONCERN TO NATO.

(2) SOME DELEGATIONS BELIEVE THAT THE FINAL AGREEMENT PROVISION WOULD HAVE TO BE COMPLEMENTED BY SOME KIND OF AN INSTRUMENT CLEARLY SPECIFYING THE GEOGRAPHIC AREAS TO WHICH REDEPLOYMENT OF WITHDRAWN FORCES WOULD BE PROHIBITED. ONE DELEGATION FAVOURS AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS (WHICH WOULD, E.G., DEFINE THE TERM "ADJACENT"). ANOTHER DELEGATION FAVOURS AN INTERPRETATIVE DECLARATION, ALBEIT ONLY A UNILATERAL WESTERN DECLARATION, AND BELIEVES THAT IN THIS CONTEXT HUNGARY WOULD HAVE TO BE EXPLICITLY MENTIONED.

((3) PROCEDURES FOR THE PREANNOUNCEMENT OF EXERCISES AND ROTATIONS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED ANALOGOUS TO THOSE FORESEEN FOR A "NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT" (C-M(74)30(REVISED), III, (F) (1)).)

OR

(FORCES WITHDRAWN ACCORDING TO THE PRESENT AGREEMENT WILL NOT BE REDEPLOYED (, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY,)(1) IN GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS WHERE THEIR ADDED PRESENCE WOULD EITHER INFRINGE THE PRINCIPLE THAT FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE SHOULD NOT DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF THOSE COUNTRIES HAVING PARTICIPATED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPECIAL STATUS OR CIRCUMVENT THE OBJECTIVE PURSUED IN THIS AGREEMENT OF ENHANCING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE.)

III. ACTION REQUESTED OF ALLIED NEGOTIATORS

3. THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD:

(A) CONTINUE VIGOROUSLY TO SET OUT ALLIED CONCERNS ON (NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND) FLANK SECURITY. THIS COULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF STRENGTHENING THE ALLIED NEGOTIATING POSITION AND INCREASING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE EAST WILL AGREE TO THE TREATY PROVISION WHICH THE WEST WILL IN DUE COURSE PROPOSE.

(B) CONTINUE TO SOUND OUT THE EAST AS TO THE ACCEPTA-
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BILITY OF POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO MEET THE CONCERNS OF THE (DIRECT AND) SPECIAL STATUS PARTICIPANTS.

(1) THE DELEGATION CAN ACCEPT THIS FORMULATION WITH THE DELETION INDICATED BY THESE INNER BRACKETS.

(C) TELL THE EAST THAT THE ALLIES FAVOUR THE INCLUSION
IN THE FIRST PHRASE AGREEMENT OF A TREATY PROVISION
TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF (BOTH THE DIRECT
PARTICIPANTS AND THOSE) PARTICIPANTS HAVING A
SPECIAL STATUS.

(D) AT A TIME WHICH THE AD HOC GROUP DEEMS APPROPRIATE,
CONVEY THE TEXT OR AT LEAST THE GIST OF THE
FORMULATION IN SECTION II ABOVE TO THE OTHER SIDE,
IDENTIFYING IT AS THE "ALLIED POSITION" ON (NON-
CIRCUMVENTION AND) FLANK SECURITY BUT EXPLAINING
THAT IT IS NOT YET IN THE FORM OF AN AGREEMENT
PROVISION; TELL THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES THAT THE
ALLIES WILL IN DUE COURSE PROPOSE TO THE EAST THE
TREATY-LANGUAGE TEXT OF AN AGREEMENT PROVISION AS
DESCRIBED IN (C) ABOVE, AND THAT SAID TEXT WILL BE
BASED UPON THE "ALLIED POSITION".
END TEXTPRENDERGAST

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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